

Sabina, Mary & Betsey to each \$100<sup>00</sup> worth  
of property (in Greenbrier Co., W. Va. near Ryckies  
Valley)

Item: I bequeath to my son Josiah  
when he comes of age 'The Locust Plantation'  
& the mills thereon (This is 7 miles south  
of Hillsboro W. Va. in Pocahontas Co., W. Va.)

Item: I bequeath the rents from Locust  
plantation & mills till Josiah comes  
of age the moneys arising from the  
sale of the place on Dry Creek also my  
part of the Knob place to be equally  
divided among my daughters.

I also hereby constitute & appoint  
Samuel Beard & Thomas Beard Jr., Thomas  
Beard Sr. my brother executors of this my  
last will & testament.

Seal. John Beard

Signed, sealed & delivered by John Beard  
as his last will & Testament in presence  
of

Robert Stevens, David Parks - Adam Stumbaugh

# John Beard's will

John Beard's will - Dated May 11, 1808 -  
(Will bk #1 - P 239- Greenbrier Co (W.) V<sup>a</sup>) Lewisburg.

In the name of God amen. I John Beard  
being sick in body but of sound mind &  
memory, etc, my last will & Testament in  
the following manner:

First I commit my soul to God, my  
Saviour & Redeemer. My body to be buried at  
the discretion of my executors here in after  
named:

My temporal estate with all my lawful  
debts to be first discharged.

The legacies left to my daughters, Agnes  
Sabina & Betsey by their Aunt Elizabeth  
be also discharged.

Item to my beloved wife Janet my  
negro man Jingo, two working horses, two  
cows, to be at her disposal during her  
widowhood - the third of our plantation  
we now live on. the wagons & farming  
tools for her use on the farm.

Item. I bequeath to my son Wm  
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Item. I bequeath to my daughter Jane.

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with her by her father Thomas Beard,  
November 21, 1786. The arbitrators  
found James Mitchell to be

On August 18, 1781, James Mearns  
(Shreve) testified that

and taught from these until he could  
obtain others. He started a private  
school at what is

from the daughters of Robert and  
Alexander's family.

WIN W. PRICE, EDITOR  
JUNE 4, 1931

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we now live on - the wagons & farming tools for her use on the farm -

Item - I bequeath to my son Wm Ryneck the plantation we now live on .

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CALVIN W. PRICE, EDITOR

THURSDAY, JUNE 4, 1931

For President  
OWEN D. YOUNG  
of New York

The Beard relationship of Pocahontas county all descend from Thomas Beard one of the members of the Rev. John Craig's congregation of Augusta county, Virginia. Rev. Craig was pastor of old Stone Meeting House. Back in that colonial time when the pioneers were so busy making history they had no time to record it. These old records were carefully taken down made readable by Chalkley. They are the official, accepted references of the D. A. R.

Thomas Beard left a quaint old will giving his several children certain house hold furniture, etc.; and his wife Jean is remembered substantially, there in. But to go back to an earlier day in the 1740 ties and 50ties in Rockbridge county there is a record that Thomas Beard administered Alexander Smiley's estate in 1749. We do not know whether he was a relative or just a trusted friend. There is another record though that to me indicates who Jean Beard was: On August 15, 1753, we find Thomas Beard administrator of another estate. This time it is James McNutt and in this document it says James McNutt paid for land bought by Thomas Beard's wife. He paid quit rents for Thomas Beard ten years in advance in 1744.

He had paid David Hays debts before his marriage.

He paid Robert Alexander's tuition for schooling James Jr. and Robert McNutt one year. In advance 1748.

He paid James Dobbin's same for Alexander McNutt 1748.

In Price's History Cousin William knew there were some daughters, and he says: "They went to Kentucky." A good many of this relationship did go to Tennessee and Kentucky. But at least two of these daughters of Thomas Beard remained in Rockbridge and I think four, viz: Esther who married Robert Alexander in Pennsylvania. Martha who married Robert Ramsey. Mary who married Dunlap. Jane or Jean who married George Weir.

Esther and her husband, Robert Alexander, lived at Beverly Manor, Augusta county, Virginia. Robert Alexander was a graduate of the University of Dublin and Edinburgh. He was born at "Manor Cunningham" Londonderry, Ireland in 1719, a direct descendant of Robert Bruce through sixteen generations. He came to Virginia in 1736, and married Esther Beard about 1739. They had eleven well known children.

Robert Alexander was made vestry man in 1748. This office constituted all local authority in the early colonies. It was considered a place of honor.

While coming to America a great storm arose at sea and he was obliged to throw his library overboard. This necessitated some shift to replace the missing. It is said he wrote many of these out in longhand from memory

and taught from these until he could obtain others. He started a private school of higher education at what is now Lexington, Va., in 1749. It was afterwards called Liberty Hall and is now Washington and Lee University.

Robert Alexander was compelled to resign from the Vestry on March 17, 1760. He says "I have been unable to go abroad for some time on account of a lingering illness." Sampson Mathews was elected in his stead but he was made vice vestryman. Sampson Archer and John Mathews were the church wardens.

Robert Alexander and his wife Esther Beard had eleven children. William was the oldest. He testified at a court on June 13, 1806, that he was then 65 years old. He died in 1829 in Virginia. Nothing more known.

Robert Jr. first clerk of Campbell county, Virginia, which office was held by him, his son and grandson for almost 100 years. The office was in his house "Rock Castle." He married Nancy Anne daughter of Captain William Austin and left many distinguished descendants both in Virginia and other states.

Archibald was a physician in New Castle, Del. he married Mary. I saw a write up only recently in "Who is Who" in America. Rear Admiral Eustace B. Rogers of the U. S. Navy was the subject of this sketch. He traced his ancestry through Dr. Archibald Alexander to Robert and Esther Beard Alexander. Thomas Beard Alexander moved to Galen county, Ohio, married and reared six children. Nothing further known.

Peter Alexander moved to Woodford county, Kentucky. He was living in 1822. He married and left a number of eminent descendants in that State some of whom were noted Divines. One Peter Alex Macfinty Steele, 1787.

Esther Alexander married Captain William Austin, his second wife, and thus became stepmother to her sister-in-law Nancy Anne Austin, wife of Robert Alexander of Campbell county. Captain Austin held a commission from the British Crown as Captain until the Revolution. He then threw his lot with the American Patriots. They left many prominent descendants.

Sarah Alexander wasn't married until she was over twenty-one. She then married Col. John Wilson of Bath County, April 5, 1786. Her brother Peter, witnessed the ceremony. "She gave her own consent, being of age."

Eleanor Alexander married Samuel Wilson, June 27, 1790. Hugh Alexander her brother was surety.

Hugh nothing further.

Anne Alexander married Ballars or Ballow, nothing further.

James born 1760, married April 7, 1801. Margaret, daughter of James Lytle and his wife Hannah Alexander a daughter of Captain Archibald Alexander, brother of Robert Sr.

The Stephenson and Ballars of Bath and Highland counties, Va., are

from the daughters of Robert and Esther Beard Alexander's family.

James and Margaret Lyle Alexander are my great grandparents thru their daughter Martha Pauline who married Charles Alexander Dunlap of the Calf Pasture near Deerfield, Va. This old Beard ancestor came down to me through a double line my grand mother Sabina Janett Beard McNeel born Feb. 8, 1844 and yet living at Ponca City, Oklahoma. Is a great granddaughter of Thomas and Jean Beard through their son John who married January 16, 1769; Janett, daughter of Peter and Martha Woods Wallace and in turn thru their son, Josiah Beard who lived at Locust Creek on the plantation given him by his father, in his will in 1808 and called it "Locust Plantation". Josiah Beard married Rachel Cameron, daughter of Major William and Nancy (Agnes Dunlap, grandmother Sabina McNeel says, was her real name) Warwick Gatewood widow of William Gatewood and daughter of Captain Jacob Warwick.

Esther Beard Alexander died in 1769. The Rockbridge County History says and Robert Alexander died in 1787.

Jane or Jean Beard, the two first names seem to be used interchangeably—married George Weir and we find him deceased by August 8, 1781, probably he lost his life at Guilford Court House or some other battle of that terrible year of the Revolution. He lived in Rockbridge and it was from that vicinity so many went and did lose their lives.

A son Thomas Weir survived and it seems others though no names are given.

It seems one James Young had bought a piece of land from the Eakins heirs, before one of them was of age. In this suit this heir is trying to recover his rights in this property from George Weir's heirs viz: Jane, the widow and Thomas her son. The Eakins Andrew and James who originally sold the property are dead; George Weir lives on the French Broad in Tenn.

In this suit William Alexander, son of Robert testifies: "I heard my Grandfather Thomas Beard say in 1759," unfortunately Chalkley doesn't tell what it was, William's grandfather said.

In a suit in Dec. 1806, William Beard testifies he had married Mary or Polly Steele, daughter of Samuel Steele. The Steeles were then living in West Tennessee and in Kentucky. I suspect Peter Alexander was a brother-in-law to William Beard—as Peter had married Jenny Steele back in 1787. The Steele family were all in Kentucky and Tennessee. William Beard deposes in a suit in June 1806 that he was 74 or 75 years old.

James Houston was a neighbor of the Weirs as he appears often in legal affairs of theirs and he appears with Cornelius Alexander as guardian for George Weir's orphans vs James Mitchell executor of Thomas Beard's will in 1769. This suit was brought to determine if Jean Beard Weir and her children had received the legacy

left her by her father Thomas Beard, November 21, 1786. The arbitrators found James Mitchell had not fulfilled his duty in settling the estate and that Mitchell must pay 22 pounds on or before Jean's eldest child came of age.

In Augusta county record one Jean Weir became the wife of Cornelius Alexander on March 17, 1785. What more logical in 1786 for Cornelius to be demanding an accounting of James Mitchell.

Martha Beard, or was it. One reference says it was Elizabeth married James Mitchell before 1769. For Thomas and Martha Mitchell are given a part of Thomas Beard's estate and again he refers to Thomas Mitchell's mother. At the time Thomas Beard died it looks as if his daughter Jean was single. James Mitchell was the administrator of the estate. From this we take it James must have been quite a business man. Men of this type nearly always know how to look out for their own interests. Here is Jean married and a mother, then a widow and her part of the estate still at Mitchells hands.

In less than a year after this marriage of Jean to Cornelius Alexander, we find him inquiring through the courts about the estate, and a settlement being agreed upon. James Houston was guardian for Jean and her children. Thomas Beard Sr. had a neighbor adjoining him in Rockbridge named John Houston in 1742. Probably the Houstons and Beards were close friends of old times. The Alexander children inter married with the Houstons and Paxtons from which family Sam Houston sprang.

Hugh Beard, son of Thomas married Sarah. He died in 1807 and Sarah died in 1801; their children were: Robert who married and had Nancy and Sally by 1806. Ann, Jane Alexander, Sarah. Sarah married Andrew Kennedy 1797; Esther, who married Mr. Hoffman and Thomas Beard, who was mentioned in his grandfather's will, 1769, married Sarah Jameson in 1785.

In the old deeds we find some of Thomas Beard's neighbors and his holdings in Rockbridge county, Va.

Back in 1750 Samuel Dunlap sold to David Dunlap 170 acres of land for 25 pounds, and to Thomas Beard 120 for 140 pounds. This was one tract.

In 1753 Thomas Beard is buying land again. This time it is 605 acres 23 p. 6 on. Moffetta Creek near John Houston. In 1800 the same tract is sold by Thomas to William Beard for 100 pounds (Note that 1753 is the year James McClure died).

William Pollock's farm adjoining Thomas Beard's in 1765 and John Montgomery's and Thomas Hill's are ceded with him. We find Thomas Beard present for Pat Hays at a meeting of the vestry. Pat Hays' farm occupied Robert Alexander's. Hays was probably a son of the David Hays mentioned in 1753 in James McNutt's will.

On August 18, 1761, James McClure's will proved two of the witnesses had died, William Beard and William McClure. This must have been a relative of Thomas Beard. This McClure family inter married with the Alexanders. Old Captain Archibald Alexander's second wife was Jane McClure, 1757.

Thomas Beard was exempted tax

levy in 1764. "Very aged".

In the will 1769, Thomas Beard speaks of his daughter, wife of Robert Ramsey as if she had died. One Robert Ramsey was killed by the Shawnees in 1759. His will was probated November 21, 1759, Robert Hall, administrator. Later on there is a note Isabelle Hall, wife of Robert, qualifies as administratrix of her late husband Robert Ramsey. This name Isabella doesn't sound familiar. On May 15, 1769, Thomas Beard's will was probated, a lengthy preamble as was customary then the bequests.

He gave to his beloved wife Jean, all the cleared land where the house stood to the cleared land for turnips, where they last grew.

Then a daughter Fane and a daughter Jane were mentioned.

Again his mind goes back to the faithful old wife he wants her to have his elbow chair and a certain negro boy.

He left cleared land to his son Hugh, and Hugh's son Thomas was left 170 acres lying next to John Montgomery and Thomas Hill. Then he left 10 pounds each to the grandsons named Thomas—Thomas Alexander and Thomas Dunlap. To Robert Ramsey's children, testator's grandchildren, 12 pounds and 12 shillings each. A legacy to son William and to daughter Esther Alexander and Martha Mitchell; frequent provision for such issue in case daughter Jane have no issue.

Executors James Mitchell and Thomas Hill. Witnesses, John Andrew and James Eakin. Proved October 18, 1769. Executors qualify with William Alexander, William Kennedy and Hugh Beard. The appraisers were John Montgomery, William Moore, Thomas Wilson.

The settlement showed the payment of Wm. Berkley, Jas. Eakin, Wm. Perrins, Thomas Alexander, Thomas Beard, Esther Alexander, Thomas Mitchell and his mother, Thomas Dunlap and his mother, Robert Ramsey's children, Martha Mitchell.

Thomas and Jean Beard deeded to their son John 183 acres of land on Catheys Creek, some times called Jennings Branch, on May 20, 1765. It cornered with David McNaire. This was delivered to John Beard in January, 1769. I just wonder if May 20, 1765, could have been John Beard's twenty-first birthday, as he didn't accept this gift until his marriage, January 16, 1769.

In 1762-3, John Beard and William McClanahan were partners, making a crop on Locust Creek, "on the Spring Lick or Spring Creek plantation." This might have been in Greenbrier at the old Beard homestead.

The Preston and Virginia Papers, compiled by the University of Wisconsin say that John Beard was a captain under Col. Christian at Point Pleasant. Greenbrier was then embraced in Botetourte County. From the same source, I learn that Samuel Beard furnished beavers for the Cherokee expedition in 1776.

John Beard married Janett Wallace daughter of Peter Wallace, Jr., and Martha Woods Wallace. She was niece of the distinguished statesman James Woods of Virginia. In hunting out the Wallace kin, I came to the name of George Seldon Wallace as author of "Peter Wallace's Genealogy." I coveted the book, if it was about my own family, but the catalog did not say what place these Wallace were from. By a strange coincidence, I came upon the name of the author in The Times as a friend of that friendly, beloved man, Andrew Price. I wrote Major Wallace at Huntington and asked him if he had written this book, and if he had, did he know that Andrew Price was a descendant of one Jan Wallace? He wrote, thanking me for the information. He sent a box to Cousin Andrew. Shortly afterwards those fine articles on the Wallace kith and kin appeared in The Times. And then only a few short months and our beloved cousin was with us no more. He has left something of himself in those printed pages and in memory we treasure.

The will book of Rockbridge County record something of these old Wallace. Andrew Wallace's will was filed July 3, 1781; he was the ancestor of General Lew Wallace. He bequeaths to his sisters Janett and Sannah; his grandson Andrew; mother, Martha; brother Adam and 1 brother-in-law, John Gilmer.

Dr. Archibald Alexander, President of Princeton Theological Seminary, recounts in a diary he kept in early life some interesting happenings of his childhood. He was born on the South Branch in Rockbridge in 1772. His father was William Alexander, eldest son of Captain Archibald Alexander, brother of Robert, of Timber Ridge. He tells of the school room of Revolutionary days. He says his father had erected a cabin down near the creek about a half mile from the house, and the sound of the students studying out loud could be easily heard to the house. This was the custom of that day. If a student was caught in silence he was thrashed with a hickory switch well laid on. This method encouraged each student to shout his lesson out loud while studying so that the teacher could see his diligence.

When Dr. Alexander was three, his



father went to Baltimore and bought the time of three indentured servants. One of these was an educated Irishman named Reardon, whom the Alexanders trusted and liked. He carried little Archibald, aged three, on his back to the school. The boy wore his hair in a queue down his back. As his hair was extremely fine and thin, the other children teased him. For this Reardon used his whip vigorously, but he never touched little Archibald.

"Most of the English servants who had or had not served their time were released to fight in the Revolutionary war. My father's servants, James Malone, an Irish papist, Joe Lyon, a thievish Jew, and John Reardon, born in Ireland, and brought up and educated in London. Malone and the Jew went first. Malone was killed in battle in Carolina. Lyon, a very bad man, deserted to the British. Soon after Captain Adam Wallace's company reached the scene of warfare Col. Beaufort was attacked by Tarleton's corps. The Colonel, seeing his men in confusion, fled at the beginning of the battle, and almost the whole of his command was cut to pieces by the British dragoons.

"The brave Wallace disdained to fly and, being entirely surrounded by the British horse, sold his life dearly, having first killed some three or four men with his spontoon.

"Reardon, our servant, was in Captain Wallace's company, and being a small man, he was soon cut down—severely wounded but still conscious. After the battle he lay helpless and bleeding among the dead. When night came, the moon shone and Reardon saw a man passing near him, like some arch fiend, dispatching with his bayonet all who showed signs of life. Presently the fiend came toward Reardon, raised his musket, pointed the bayonet at him. Then Reardon

Died at his home in Hillsboro, Pocahontas Co., W. Va., on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of Feb. 1889, Joseph Beard, in the 79<sup>th</sup> year of his age. Born in Greenbrier Co., W. Va., on 20<sup>th</sup> day of September 1810 + removed to Pocahontas in 1857. Married Mattie Jordan, daughter of John Jordan. Three children: one son, John J. Beard, and two daughters, Mrs. Isaac McNeil, and Mrs. Wm L. McNeil, now deceased.

#### Lieut. John Jordan Beard.

It becomes our mournful duty to record the death of a widely-known and much esteemed citizen, John Jordan Beard, Huntersville, West Virginia. This event occurred rather unexpectedly, Monday, 11<sup>th</sup> a. m., April 11th, 1898.

Lieut. Beard was the only son of the late Joseph Beard and Mrs. Mattie Beard, near Hillsboro. He was born in Greenbrier County, April 21st, 1835, and was married to Minerva, daughter of James Edmiston, Esq., September 1866. At the time of his death he was within ten days of being 63 years of age. By this event his attached family is bereaved of a kind tender husband and a very affectionate and indulgent father. The community at large honors his memory as that of a good man whose influence has been for intelligence and good morals.

In the war between the States he served in the Bath Squadron, and made a record as a gallant and distinguished soldier. Late in the war he received a frightful wound that came near ending his life at the time. He survived to the surprise of every person familiar with its nature. For more than thirty years this wound has been a great personal affliction, and it is believed hastened the termination of his useful life. He has been a resident of Huntersville about 21 years. During this time he served the county two terms as clerk of both courts.

Early in life he professed piety, and maintained a consistent character as such in the pale of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was loyal and faithful to his community

and greatly attached to her doctrines and usages.

He is survived by his wife and two sons, Harry and Fred Beard.

Being as Lieut. Beard was a person of ardent social and domestic impulses, as a matter of course it was natural for him to think of

the sundering of sweet home ties, yet in his sincere way he assured his loved ones that they should not grieve too much about him, for all was and would be well with him.

A month or so since we had a pleasant interchange of views concerning the 23d Psalm. In this Psalm it appears that nothing but the shadow would touch those following the Lord our Shepherd when it comes to passing through the Valley. Having been a soldier and familiar with scenes in the presence of the my, that at such a time down at a prepared for one of the last thin battle would be lit



## Alexander Campbell's Thoughts On Slavery and Abolition

by Earl Eugene Eminhizer

Probably one of the most overlooked, but important and influential persons in the ante-bellum West, was Alexander Campbell. Although this neglect by the general historian is understandable, his being overlooked by the church historians is not. Campbell was not only one of the founders of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), but one of the earliest religious leaders in America to be concerned with church union. In addition, he was also a successful publisher, educator and farmer; and he was reported to be one of the wealthiest men in Western Virginia. This paper seeks to examine his views on one of the most pressing social and political problems of his times—slavery.

Campbell's views on slavery are easily misunderstood unless one keeps in mind the distinction that his father, Thomas Campbell, had made between matters of religious faith and private judgment in *The Declaration and Address*, a document he wrote for the Christian Church Association of Washington, Pennsylvania, in 1809. These views were accepted by Alexander and became the premise upon which he built his own interpretation. In *The Declaration and Address*, Thomas Campbell held that those things which were not specifically commanded in the Bible could not be made matters of faith.<sup>1</sup> They were matters for private judgment. Those which were commanded in the Bible were matters of faith and must be followed. The Campbells were of the opinion that division in the church was caused by failure to follow the Bible alone in matters of religion.

Accepting this premise as a basis for determining what could be considered matters of religion and what could not, Alexander Campbell rejected the slavery controversy as being a subject which was religious in character. Failure to understand his position on what was religious and what was political (or a matter of private judgment) led many of his contemporaries to criticize unjustly his views on the matter.

It has been suggested that Alexander Campbell's views on slavery can be divided into two periods: that before 1830, and that

<sup>1</sup> Propositions 2 through 7 of *The Declaration and Address*. (See H. Shelton Smith et al., *American Christianity* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960] Vol. 1, 379-86.)

following 1830.<sup>2</sup> It has also been suggested that he changed his position in order to save the Disciple movement from division during the second period. Upon closer examination of Campbell's position, one finds that he did not change his views, but rather the emphasis that he placed on them.<sup>3</sup>

That Campbell opposed slavery cannot be denied, but he was not an abolitionist of the radical type. He opposed both slavery and abolition. Campbell's personal action in freeing slaves inherited from his father-in-law, and purchased from a Methodist minister, indicates his feelings on the matter.<sup>4</sup> He did not oppose slavery for religious reason, but rather on political, social and economic grounds.

One of Campbell's earliest expressions of his feelings toward slavery appeared in the *Christian Baptist* in August, 1823, where he said:

If any thing is wanting to finish a picture of the most glaring inconsistencies, add to this those Christians who are daily extolling the blessing of civil and religious liberty, and, at the same time, by a system of the most cruel oppression, separating the wife from the embraces of her husband, and the mother from her tender offspring; violating every principle, and rendering every tie that endears life and reconciles man to his lot, and that, forsooth, because "might gives right," and a man is held guilty because his skin is a shade darker than the standard color of the times.<sup>5</sup>

Because he thought he saw an opportunity for the political elimination of slavery, Campbell entered the race for representative of his district to the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1829. He was not alone in his views at the convention, but some were concerned that a move in the convention might make slavery a part of the constitution should the slaveholders win. For this reason, his views did not prevail and it was decided to keep slavery out of the constitution, thereby leaving it open to ordinary legislative action.<sup>6</sup>

Campbell recognized that any action which would end slavery would require political action. He was willing to support political action whenever he thought it would do some good. The Kentucky Constitutional Convention of 1850 presented such an opportunity.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Thomas De Groot, *The Grounds of Division Among the Disciples*, (Chicago: privately printed), 75.

<sup>3</sup> See Robert Frederick West, *Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 103; Harold L. Lunger, *The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell*, (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1954), 64; Winfred Ernest Garrison, *Religion Follows the Frontier: A History of the Disciples of Christ*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921), 174-90.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Ray Lindley, *Apostle of Freedom*, (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1957), 100-102.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Campbell, "The Christian Religion," *Christian Baptist*, (August, 1823), 18.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Campbell, "The Crisis," *The Millennial Harbinger* (hereafter referred to as MHH) (February, 1822), 64; Robert Richardson, *The Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, (Nash-

Anticipating this, Campbell published in the *Millennial Harbinger* "A Tract for the People of Kentucky."<sup>7</sup>

In the "Tract" he presented arguments for positive action on the part of Christians in Kentucky to rid themselves of slavery at this time. Campbell's arguments favoring action by Christians in Kentucky were economic and moral, rather than Biblical.

Although Campbell had always opposed the mixing of religion and politics, we now find him telling the Kentucky Christians to "vote like Christians at the polls and demonstrate [their] love of liberty and right"<sup>8</sup> by eliminating slavery from the state. He hoped that such a move would influence similar action in other states.<sup>9</sup>

Campbell found himself opposed to many of the political actions taken concerning slaves. Many states were passing laws forbidding the education of slaves, and Campbell's opposition to this was based on the belief that knowledge and slavery were incompatible.<sup>10</sup> Thus, he reasoned that education of Negroes was proper, that it would prepare them for freedom, and that it would lead toward ending slavery.

Campbell noted that the relation of master and servant was a relationship going back to the beginning of time. He thought that "even in the Millennium . . . there will be master and servants."<sup>11</sup> But such a relationship did not mean that all servants were slaves, or that all masters were free. He even thought that masters ought to be emancipated from their slaves. They were themselves slaves to fear, since most were more afraid of their slaves than their slaves were of them. That such was the case was made plain to him in a bill presented to the Virginia legislature to prevent the education of Negroes. Such a law, he thought, was "the most effectual destruction of the liberty of the press which [he could] imagine."<sup>12</sup>

Although some readers (in the early days of the *Millennial Harbinger*) cautioned Campbell against saying anything about slavery, feeling that the less said the better,<sup>13</sup> Campbell was not, at that time, to be silent on the matter. The Nat Turner insurrection, which occurred about this time, caused Campbell to hope that it would inspire the state of Virginia to do something about slavery.

<sup>7</sup> "A Tract for the People of Kentucky," MH, (May, 1848).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> See Lindley, *Apostle of Freedom*, (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1957), 102.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander Campbell, "Emancipation of White Slaves," MH, (March, 1830), 128-29.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>13</sup> "T" to Alexander Campbell, Essex, Virginia, April 6, 1830, in the MH, (April, 1830), 148-90.



In commenting on this event, he pointed out that slavery was the most expensive labor system as well as the most wasteful of the real estate. The continued use of this system would, in his opinion, make Virginia a wilderness. He hoped that Virginia would, at this time, use her power to extricate herself from it, but he thought, this might be like saying that a drunkard has the power to become sober.<sup>14</sup>

In attempting to stimulate action in the early 1830's, Campbell described slavery,

. . . That largest and blackest blot upon our national escutcheon, that many-headed monster, that Pandora's box, that bitter root, . . . is now evoking the attention of the ancient and venerable commonwealth in a manner as unexpected as it is irresistible and cheering to every philanthropist. . . . We have thought that if the abolition of slavery was *legitimately* to be laid before the people of this commonwealth as it now is, there would be found even among slaveholders a majority to concur in a national system of emancipation.<sup>15</sup>

After Nat Turner's revolt in Virginia, Campbell presented a plan for the emancipation of slaves, and the resolution of the race problem. The nation was no longer in debt after 1832, leaving the government about ten million dollars which was no longer needed for payment on the debt. The use of this money had been discussed in Congress where Henry Clay had proposed that it be given to the states. Campbell opposed this use of the surplus but proposed instead that the money be used for the colonization of colored people, free and slave, in Africa. His suggested program would start in 1834, and continue until all the colored population had been removed.<sup>16</sup> The free Negroes could be colonized at once; those that masters would emancipate could follow; and finally he proposed that female slaves of a given age would be bought from masters unwilling to emancipate. Such a program would, he believed, eliminate slavery in about twenty years.<sup>17</sup> Most Disciple leaders, including those who opposed slavery, favored the colonization idea and supported the American Colonization Society, as did Campbell. Such a plan offered a solution to the race problem—a problem which was ignored by the abolitionists.

Campbell modified his proposal to eliminate slavery by suggesting that in addition to the surplus monies in the treasury that could be used, the Navy's ships, which were rotting in the harbors, could transport freed slaves to Liberia. He suggested that people petition Congress to that end.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Alexander Campbell, "Slavery in Virginia," *MH*, (January, 1832), 15.  
<sup>15</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, 347-48.  
<sup>16</sup> Campbell, "The Crisis," 87.  
<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander Campbell, "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," *MH*, (December, 1835), 348.

Between the time that Campbell presented his plan and the publication of his next statement on slavery in 1835, changes took place in the attitude of the abolitionists. With the advent of the radical abolitionism in the 1830's, the methods of abolition changed as did the attitudes people held toward it. Campbell saw a great danger in the new approach, especially as it took on the overtones of a religious revival. The division which occurred among the Baptists and the Methodists in the 1840's seemed to demonstrate the wisdom of his view that the matter was not a religious one and could only lead to division if admitted into the church. To prevent division within the Disciple brotherhood, he changed his emphasis.

In 1834 Theodore D. Weld and the Lane Rebels<sup>19</sup> were touring Ohio in behalf of abolition.<sup>20</sup> Campbell was at the same time on a tour of the South where he met with the reaction to the new program of abolitionism. Continuing to oppose slavery, he also began to oppose the radical abolitionists as well. This created difficulties since most were unwilling to allow any alternative besides proslavery or immediate abolition.

Since slavery was recognized by national law, the slaveholder was, in Campbell's mind, entitled to have his property protected. Just compensation would be necessary if the slaves were removed by a change in the law. He pointed out that the argument that slaves had not originally been slaves but had been forced or sold into slavery did not alter the circumstances at that time. He noted that neither the right of the South to slaves, nor the right of the North to the land it held was "at first obtained in the temple of Justice."<sup>21</sup> Campbell was opposed to any group which interfered with the basic right to property.<sup>22</sup>

As the abolitionist movement progressed in the 1830's, Campbell received more and more communications about slavery. Because of the emotions involved in the discussion of the issue, he did not think that a cool and dispassionate debate of it could be entered into during the latter part of the 1830's and early 1840's.<sup>23</sup> Also, Campbell's *Millennial Harbinger* was primarily a religious publication and political issues should be excluded.

Campbell had little to say in public print on the matter of slavery between 1835 and 1845. It was at this point that the Baptist

<sup>19</sup> The Lane Rebels were the radical abolitionist students who left Lane Seminary because of the slavery question and moved to the newly founded Oberlin Seminary.

<sup>20</sup> Campbell, op. cit., 247.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 248.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 247.

and the Methodist churches split over the issue. Beginning a new series of articles entitled "Our Position to American Slavery," he made clear his belief that the beliefs of the Disciples were such that they were the only religious body whose principles (if adhered to) could save them from division. Campbell probably intended that the series should be the "official" position of the brotherhood. The reason he gave for the articles was to "do homage to his Majesty FREE DISCUSSION."<sup>24</sup>

By 1845, the Abolitionist Crusade had established its argument against slavery. Campbell saw two groups developing: the "*Liberty Men*" or abolitionists, and the "*Non-Liberty Men*."<sup>25</sup> He also saw that the main issues of the debate were the moral and political evils of the system. It was to the moral evils that he was going to turn his attention, since this was the area which affected Christians.<sup>26</sup>

In Campbell's opinion, Christians were limited in their discussion of slavery to what the Bible had to say about the issue. The discussion between Francis Wayland and Richard Fuller, both Baptists, had been based on the Bible.<sup>27</sup> As Christians, the Disciples could use no other authority. The abolitionists' position was that slavery was "not authorized by God," and was, for this reason, immoral. On the other hand, the proslavery group held that it was given divine authority and thus not immoral. Campbell did not deny that the abuse of the system and the unjust laws which controlled slavery were immoral, but he did not believe that this altered the basic issue of whether or not God approved or disapproved of slavery since the central question at this point for Campbell was "*What does the Bible teach on this subject?*"<sup>28</sup> Campbell was of the opinion that this was the only area of the discussion that Disciples could enter as *Disciples*.

Campbell's position on the Bible and slavery was developed in this series. It was stated in such a way that one could easily get the impression that he was proslavery. Campbell had the ability to keep separate various phases of a discussion. However, many who attacked him did so without keeping these divisions separate from each other. Campbell was, at this time, limiting the discussion to what the Bible had to say on the matter. His method of Biblical interpretation did not allow him to read into the text that which was not

<sup>24</sup> Alexander Campbell, "Our Position to American Slavery," *MSS*, (February, 1845), 48.



there. Following this policy to the letter, Campbell's interpretation of the Bible on slavery was clear.

[In the] Church at the beginning, there were masters and slaves — sometimes Christian masters possessing Christian slaves — some-church. . . . We, therefore, take the position—that, AS CHRISTIANS WE CAN LAWFULLY, UNDER CHRIST, GO NO FURTHER THAN TO EXACT FROM CHRISTIAN MASTERS AND CHRISTIAN SERVANTS ALL THAT IS COMPREHENDED IN THOSE PRECEPTS. We have no authority, *as Christians*, to go farther. We have no warrant to annihilate the relation; but we warrant, and are under obligation to enforce the precepts, and to see that the relative duties of both parties are faithfully performed.<sup>29</sup>

Slavery fell into that area which Campbell considered *opinion*, and was not in that class of things which were *dogma*. For example, the Bible commanded baptism, thus, Christians had to be baptized; but since the Bible did not command missionary societies, Christians did not have to participate in them. Such activities could not be grounded in the Bible and were human institutions. Although everyone had to be baptized to be a member of the church, one did not have to support the mission cause to be a member. So Campbell reasoned the same was true of slavery-abolition. Being a slaveholder did not in itself violate the laws of God, and a Christian could hold slaves and still be a member of the church. This could also be said of the abolitionist. But Campbell did not think that either of these two points of view could be forced on the members of the church, nor could those holding to either of these views be excluded from membership. The church could take action against a slave or slaveholder, only if either failed to meet the obligations of the relationship between them as set down in the Bible.

Whatever side a Christian took in the issue was a personal matter. But Campbell was of the opinion that Christians were required to obey the laws of the state (Render unto Caesar. . .). For this reason, he felt that even though a law might be wrong or a person might not agree with it, a Christian was obligated to obey it. Thus, since slavery was the law of the land, right or wrong, Christians could not interfere with the enforcement of the law. Christians could take political action to change the law, but no more. Since many of the abolitionists were openly advocating the violation of the law, Campbell came into conflict with them.<sup>30</sup>

Campbell also addressed himself to the question, was slavery a sin? This issue had been raised in 1841 by a group of Disciples

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, (March, 1842), 138.  
<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

on the Western Reserve in Ohio, when they published a document called *An Address to the Disciples on the Sin of Slavery by the Churches in Trumbull County, Ohio, and Vicinity*.<sup>31</sup> This *Address* held that slavery was a sin. "The great cardinal question is," it said, "—Is it right for man to hold property in man?"<sup>32</sup> The argument of the address rested on interpretation of what God intended for man. Such interpretation was a personal matter, but Campbell was fearful that this would be made a test of faith or dogma.<sup>33</sup>

Since the relationship between master and slave was regulated in the Bible, Campbell did not think that it could be considered as immoral. The relationship was, in itself, not a sin.<sup>34</sup> Since there were regulations for every detail of this relationship, masters who failed to follow would be punished by God. It was the obligation of the church to see that the regulations were enforced between Christian masters and their slaves. The same was also true of slaves who were Christians. Both masters and slaves were to be removed from the church if they failed to follow the regulations.<sup>35</sup>

Campbell found the regulations of slavery in I Timothy 6:1-4.<sup>36</sup>

Let all who are under the yoke of slavery regard their masters as worthy of all honor, so that the name of God and the teachings may not be defamed. Those who have believing masters must not be disrespectful on the grounds that they are brethren; rather they must serve all the better since those who benefit by their service are believers and beloved. Teach and urge these duties.

Although Campbell opposed abolitionism as such, at the same time he thought that the church should take whatever action was necessary to protect Christian slaves from non-Christian masters who failed to follow the commands of God. It could also endeavor to have statutes modified or annulled if they were too rigorous. He even suggested that Christians should attempt to get fair trial for slaves and laws to prevent their sale for debt, which could result in the separation of families.<sup>37</sup>

Since the Abolitionist Disciples considered slavery a sin, problems connected with this point of view were bound to come. Campbell had always allowed for individual interpretation of the Bible and did not have a creed to give direction to that interpretation. The Abolitionist Disciples such as Jonas Hartzel, John Boggs, and

<sup>31</sup> The *Address* was published in Cincinnati by W. L. Mendenhall, 1841.

<sup>32</sup> *An Address to the Disciples on the Sin of Slavery*, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Campbell, "Our Position to American Slavery," (April, 1847), 143-46.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, (Nov. 1847), 125.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

Nathaniel Field,<sup>38</sup> interpreted the Bible in such a way that made slavery a sin. They thought Christians must give up their slaves to get rid of the sin. Campbell refused to recognize that their views might be right. He attempted to show that interference with slavery, the requiring of emancipation by a Christian master, and the making of antislavery or emancipation a test of fellowship, was to oppose the law of Christ and require more than the New Testament called for.<sup>39</sup>

Biblical regulation of slavery was an area where Christians as such were more directly involved. Although he did not reverse his stand that the Bible did not oppose, but rather sanctioned slavery, he did use the Bible to indicate that slavery was not to be retained except under the safeguards of the Scriptures. He pointed out that Paul had said that slaves should be free when the opportunity presented itself (I Corinthians 7:21). This did not mean they could walk away at their pleasure, but could be free only by a mutual understanding between the slave and the master. Masters were required to educate the slaves if they were to give the slaves that which was "*just and equal*"<sup>40</sup> (Colossians 4:1). However, there were civil laws which prevented this.

Interestingly, Campbell's argument did not emphasize the requirements of the Bible between the master and the slave which were not being followed. He emphasized, however, the damage being done to the master's family. The children of slaveholders were exposed to the influence of the slaves, who were morally inferior. Since children imitate those who influence them or with whom they come in contact, they were being influenced along lines which were morally wrong. Campbell noted that the hired servants could also suffer from moral defects, but they, unlike the slaves, could be discharged. He was of the opinion that the children imitated the actions of the Negroes more than that of the hired whites.<sup>41</sup>

Campbell summarized his position as follows: (1) "That the relation of master and slave is not, in itself, sinful or immoral." (2) That as practiced in some parts of the world, it was inexpedient, since it was out of harmony with the advance and moral view of society, nor did it contribute to the economic well-being of the country. It also placed on Christian masters difficult burdens. (3)

<sup>38</sup> James H. Field was a minister in the Western Reserve of Ohio, who was a leader in the organization of Disciple Abolitionists to support Fardes Butler. John Boggs was another leader of the Disciple Abolitionists who edited the Disciple Abolitionist papers.

<sup>39</sup> Campbell, *op. cit.*, 123, 124.

<sup>40</sup> Campbell, "A Treatise for the People of Kentucky," *III*, *op. cit.*, 248.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.



That, in accordance with the New Testament, the churches could not make slavery a test of fellowship.<sup>42</sup>

Campbell also had a basic distrust of the abolitionists. He felt that they desired to divide and dismember the churches.<sup>43</sup> Because of this, he indicated in 1845 that he was not going to allow further discussion of the issue in the *Millennial Harbinger*. Campbell also was convinced that his position was that taken by the Bible and that thus, there was no need for further discussion along the Biblical line.<sup>44</sup>

Campbell's attempt to suppress the issue did not last long. A. B. Green, a Disciple abolitionist of Wadsworth, Ohio, offered criticism of Campbell's position to which Campbell felt a response necessary. Green pointed out differences between American slavery and that of Biblical times. He noted that Biblical slavery did not make a distinction as to color or race. American slavery did. He also thought that it was wrong to steal a man and sell him, and he noted that American slaves had originally been stolen.<sup>45</sup>

Campbell responded with a discussion of the origins of slavery which he believed could be found in war, the loser being enslaved by the victor. He rejected the idea that American slaves had been stolen and maintained that they have been born into slavery. Campbell did not, at that time,<sup>46</sup> think that what had happened to their ancestors altered the case.

By this time, the editor of the *Liberty Herald*, an abolitionist paper published at Warren, Ohio, on the Western Reserve, had accused Campbell of being two-faced. One face said what the South wished to hear, that slavery was not a sin; and the other what the North wished to hear, that slavery was out of step with the modern age.<sup>47</sup>

By 1845, it was clear that Campbell was not emphasizing those things he had emphasized in 1830, a fact pointed out to him by S. York of Illinois in 1846. York reminded Campbell that in 1832 he had considered slavery the blackest blot on the nation and a blighting curse, but in 1845, it was sanctioned by the Bible. The "Blighting Curse" was now something which was "right."<sup>48</sup> The discussion

<sup>42</sup> Campbell, "Our Position to American Slavery," MH, (June, 1845), 262-63.

<sup>43</sup> See Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), 92-93, for Garrison's attack on the churches.

<sup>44</sup> Alexander Campbell, "American Slavery," MH, (August, 1845), 355-58.

<sup>45</sup> A. B. Green to Alexander Campbell, Wadsworth, Ohio, July, 1845, in MH (September, 1845), 614-15.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 619.

<sup>47</sup> *Liberty Herald*, (August 15, 1845).

<sup>48</sup> S. York to Alexander Campbell, Edgar County, Illinois, July 14, 1846, in MH, (October, 1846), 783.

of Campbell's views in the *Liberty Herald* indicated that he had an audience beyond the Disciple Press. His change of emphasis was known in Europe before his trip to the British Isles in 1847.

During a trip to Scotland and England in 1847, Campbell was attacked by a group of abolitionists. However, it appears that slavery was not the only issue in the controversy. Involved also was the fact that two prominent members of a Congregational Church at Leith had joined Campbell's followers, resulting in jealousy among the clergy. This resulted in a conscious attempt on the part of those opposed to the Disciples to discredit Campbell before the people.<sup>49</sup> Campbell, being from a slave state, made possible an attack on the issue of slavery. Caught off guard by James Robertson, S. M. Kennedy, and a Mr. Hunter of the Scotch Anti-Slavery Society, Campbell spoke freely about his feelings on the issue as well as on his reasons for opposing abolitionism. He felt that foreign interference in American slavery would only make the matter worse. Campbell did not, it appears, defend slavery as such, but his remarks were made to indicate that he had defended the institution.<sup>50</sup> Placards soon appeared opposing Campbell saying:

Citizens of Edinburgh—Beware! The Rev. Alexander Campbell of Virginia, United States of America, has been a slaveholder himself and is still a defender of man-stealers!<sup>51</sup>

Although he did not want to be involved in the slavery controversy, Campbell was now forced to make a public statement on his position.<sup>52</sup>

Early in Campbell's tour of Britain, James Robertson had challenged him to debate the issue of slavery and Campbell had agreed to do so in writing. Robertson declined this form of debate.<sup>53</sup> On finding the placards at his next appointment, Campbell sent a letter to the *Edinburgh Journal* saying that he would debate anyone on the subject of slavery, except "the Reverend James Robertson who was publicly censored and excluded from the Baptist Church for violating the fifth commandment in reference to his mother. . . ."<sup>54</sup> This placed the controversy on a level of personal vindictive. Campbell was now arrested and sued for slander. In order to dramatize the issue, Campbell refused to post bond and was kept in jail. This

<sup>49</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, 352.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 352-53.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 353; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, (October 8, 1847).

<sup>52</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, 352.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 354.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 353.

afforded him publicity at home as well as in Scotland. The trial went in his favor.<sup>55</sup>

Campbell seems to have had the same problem in Scotland, as he had in America, of getting people to make a distinction between what they could do based on the Bible and what they could do as citizens. In a public discussion of the matter, Campbell pointed out to the people of Scotland that abolition could be carried out only on a state-by-state basis. This his audience did not seem to understand.<sup>56</sup> *The Anti-Slavery Bugle* summed up Campbell's position very well when it said,

So far as we understand Mr. Campbell's argument, it is that slavery is an evil, moral, political and social; and he would be very glad that slavery could be abolished, but believes also that the justice of slavery is established by the Bible. . . .<sup>57</sup>

The economic argument was one that Campbell felt most important. He noted that economists judge institutions in terms of their effect on wealth and development of a state. He thought the best economists were at that time opposed to slavery because of its adverse effect on these two areas.<sup>58</sup> As evidence for slavery's effect, Campbell referred to the last three United States censuses. Those states not having slavery were growing economically. He compared the value of the harvest of Kentucky with that of Ohio in 1848, and found that Ohio had a harvest worth \$49,455,000 while Kentucky had a harvest worth only \$23,174,000. The harvest in Ohio was worth \$26,281,000 more. In addition, Campbell noted that Kentucky was larger and had better soil. Also Kentucky had been developed before Ohio and had five times the population of Ohio when Ohio was admitted to the Union. The obvious question was—Why was Kentucky behind? The answer—slave labor!<sup>59</sup>

Campbell further expressed himself on the issue in answering a response to the "Tract."<sup>60</sup> He said that it was necessary that men come to see that "slavery in Kentucky or America is . . . contrary to the general moral sense, the moral taste, and the spirit of the present civilized world."<sup>61</sup> He also stated that "slavery, as established by

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 364.

<sup>56</sup> "American Slavery Defended," *Edinburgh Weekly Express in the Anti-Slavery Bugle*, (October 8, 1847).

<sup>57</sup> "Alexander Campbell," *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, (November 19, 1847).

<sup>58</sup> "A Trust for the People of Kentucky," *MH*, (May, 1848).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 364-67.

<sup>60</sup> Abraham Smith to Alexander Campbell, Smithland (Kentucky) in *MH*, (July, 1849), 413.

<sup>61</sup> Alexander Campbell to Abraham Smith, *MH*, (July, 1849), 414.



our laws."<sup>62</sup> was not in harmony with the Bible, since the laws prevented the masters from doing that which was "just and equal."<sup>63</sup>

At about this same time, the national government passed a new law concerning fugitive slaves which led to a great deal of discussion in the North. The abolitionists were opposed to obeying it. Campbell felt called on to express his views on this new crisis.

Campbell's position was based on governmental authority. He did not believe that Christians should resist laws for any reason. Since government received its authority from God, it was, therefore, to be obeyed.<sup>64</sup> There were orderly methods of recourse for those who did not like the law. They could bring it before the Supreme Court which would rule on its constitutionality; and, should that fail, then they could elect representatives who would repeal it.

That Christians were to return runaway slaves was seen in the example set by Paul in his return of Onesimus. An objection to the return of slaves was the treatment they would receive upon returning home. Campbell did not consider the treatment the runaway might receive on his return as a factor to be considered in whether or not he was to be returned. The slave's treatment was not the moral concern of the person returning him. His only concern was his obligation to obey the law.

Campbell was concerned with an abstract moral idea that the motive determined the morality of the act. Thus, when one was motivated to obey the civil law, one was motivated properly; the results of this action was beyond the morality of the act, and something over which one had no control. The abolitionists, on the other hand, felt that slavery was itself wrong, thus to be avoided, and that the treatment of the individual slave was the determining factor in the morality of the issue. If they were wrongly held, or might be mistreated if returned, then the moral obligation was to not return them, and civil law made no difference.<sup>65</sup>

Campbell found himself in conflict with the Bible when he used Deuteronomy 5:21 and Exodus 20:17 (where the command not to covet the neighbor's property appears) as a source of authority for his stand. He failed to answer satisfactorily the command in Deuteronomy 23:15-16 not to return an escaped slave to his master. He suggested that this was for special cases and not the general law, since Paul had not followed it.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Alexander Campbell, "Our Position on American Slavery," *MH*, (January, 1851), 20-21.

<sup>65</sup> Alexander Campbell, "The Fugitive Slave Law," *MH*, (January, 1851), 28.

<sup>66</sup> Alexander Campbell, "The Fugitive Slave Law," *op. cit.*, 31.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

Most of the criticism which was aimed at his position centered on his failure to consider Mark 12:31, "Love your neighbor as yourself." In contrast to his statement of the Christian ethic, Campbell held that the slave was no more than property and what happened to the return slave was the responsibility of the owner. He thought that, should the owner kill the slave, he would be punished by the loss of the money which he had invested in the slave.<sup>67</sup>

Campbell's attitude is difficult to understand here, when placed against the background of his attempts to get slavery removed from Virginia in 1830 and Kentucky in 1849, and his treatment of his own slaves. He seemed to have recognized the inconsistency of his position for by the middle of 1851, he began to modify his views. He again emphasized that the Bible supported the ownership of slaves, but it also regulated it. The relationship between master and slave was for him summed up in one statement, "Be just and kind to your servants" (Colossians 4:1). He did not reject the application of the Golden Rule to the relationship, but he did not apply it to the basic relationship; that is, Campbell did not believe that one could ask if he would like to be a slave, but rather, how he would like to be treated if he were. The relationship itself was assumed to be just.<sup>68</sup>

Onesimus provided Campbell with an example of Christian treatment of slaves. What Paul did in this case was what was to be done in all cases. He returned Onesimus to Philemon because of the latter's prior right to Onesimus.<sup>69</sup>

Although inhuman action against slaves was practiced in some cases, this was not considered as a valid reason for overthrowing the institution. Campbell pointed out that husbands had abused their wives, and parents their children, but such action was not used as an argument against the institution of marriage and parenthood.<sup>70</sup>

Campbell considered that as long as the Fugitive Slave Law was on the books, all law-abiding citizens are obligated to obey it. However, at the same time, he pointed out that this did not require citizens of the North to refuse to act kindly toward the Negro. He also noted that the law required that one not conceal a fugitive so that he could not be discovered; and this was effective only after legal notice and evidence that the person involved was a runaway. He said, "You may feed, clothe, and lodge him, provided you so not

<sup>67</sup> Alexander Campbell, "Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law," *MH*, (May, 1851), 252.  
<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, (June, 1851), 254-55.  
<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.  
<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, (July, 1851), 261.

harbor or conceal him, so as to prevent discovery and arrest, after notice of knowledge that he is a fugitive.'"<sup>71</sup> This raises some questions about Campbell's sincerity concerning the enforcement of the law. Such an interpretation would allow the abolitionists to aid an escaping slave over the underground railroad, and stay within the law. It would appear at this point that he was interested only in the letter of the law, not the spirit of the Bible, particularly the New Testament.

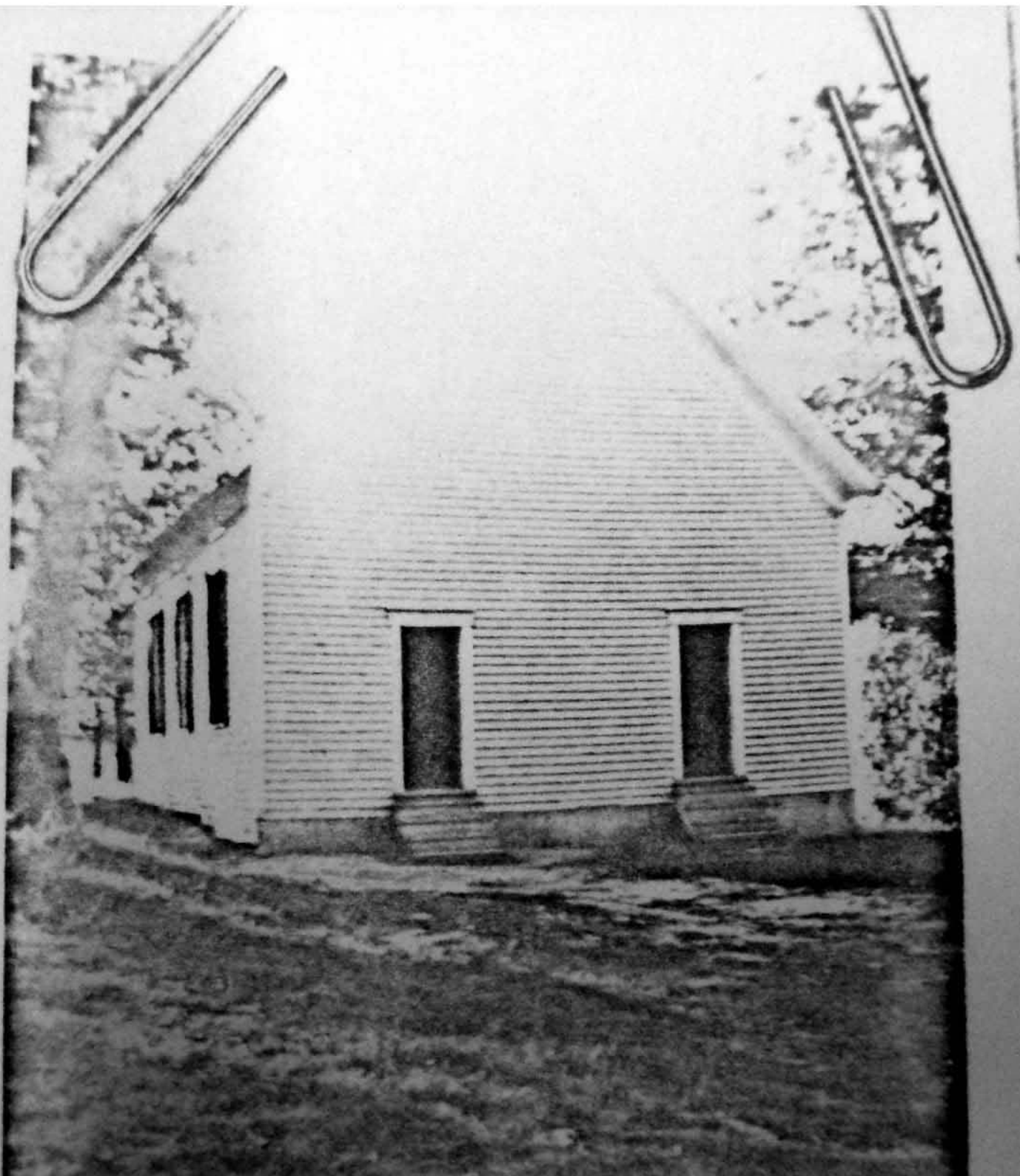
Although Campbell seems to have taken the side of the abolitionists in his interpretation and application of the slave law, he did continue to think that they were the source of much trouble and their activities had slowed emancipation in the South. Prior to the rise of abolitionism, he thought the South would probably have adopted some system of colonization.<sup>72</sup> This interest decreased in inverse ratio with northern interference, he thought.<sup>73</sup>

The solution to the problem was to be found, he believed, in the program of the American Colonization Society. Campbell did not think that the abolitionists could ever eliminate slavery in the New World.<sup>74</sup> Since slavery was supported by law, the repeal of the law was necessary in order to stop it.

That Campbell was hostile to slavery throughout his life is unquestioned. That he consistently retained the same emphasis on the subject is not the case. He seems to have placed his emphasis on those things where he thought the changing times indicated the best interest could be served. Following the rise of the abolitionists he seems to have leaned more toward the slaveholder, but he was not in agreement with either. He saw the rights of the slaveholder being violated by the abolitionists and this he considered important. But most important was the prevention of division of the church over the issue. He was successful for a time as the Disciples did not divide until 1859. In the church and its action on slavery, he insisted on the historic Disciple position that where the Bible spoke, the church could speak; where the Bible was silent, it was to be silent.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.  
<sup>72</sup> John Brown, a modern interpreter of this period, says that "Campbell's vituperative words against slavery . . . had some responsibility for the fact that . . . early in the century anti-slavery sentiment had been prominent in the South, but by 1827 not one was left."  
<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.  
<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.







Pocahontas Co.

ALEXANDER MEMORIAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH - Stony Bottom

Organized 1894

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Built 1894.

Sept. 27, 1840

Helle Y. McLaughlin  
Marlinton, W. Va.  
Pocahontas County

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Chapter 6 - Section 2

Alexander Memorial Presbyterian Church -

Stony Bottom.

As there was no Presbyterian organization west of the Greenbrier River and as there were twelve or fifteen members close around Driftwood or Stony Bottom as it was later called, it was deemed advisable to organize these members into a separate organization or church. Their membership was held at Liberty Church at Greenbank, Baxter Church at Dunmore, and Marlinton Church at Marlinton, from which points they were separated by such obstacles as to prevent almost wholly their attendance at the services of these churches.

Therefore the Presbytery of Greenbrier at its spring session which was held in Elk City, May 9-12, 1894 ordered its evangelist Rev. J. M. Sloan to visit the field during the summer with the view of organizing a church should the way be clear. Accordingly, he began a series of services in the school house on the night of August 6, 1894 and continued to preach with much power until the night of August 18, 1894.

On Friday night August 17, 1894 Driftwood Church was organized by Rev. J. M. Sloan assisted by Rev. B. F. Alexander with sixteen members enrolled. The following members were received by certificate from Baxter Church, Dunmore:



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Mr. A. K. Dysard

Mrs. E. E. Dysard

Miss Jessie Dysard

Miss Claudia Dysard

Mrs. E. M. Meeks

Mrs. Cora Ray

Mrs. Hannah McLaughlin

Mrs. Nancy McCloud

Mrs. Mary Tallman

Mrs. Parthenia McLaughlin

The following persons were received from Liberty Church at Greenbank by certificate:

Mr. Allen Galford

Mrs. Nancy Galford

Mr. John H. Doyle was received from the Marlinton Presbyterian Church and Mrs. Mary Elisa Galford from the N. E. Church South. Mr. P. H. Meeks and Miss Blanche McLaughlin were received on profession of their faith in Christ.

These persons having entered into a covenant to walk together as an organized church on the principles and orders of the Presbyterian Church, then proceeded to elect officers. Mr. A. K. Dysard who was a ruling elder in the Dunmore church was unanimously chosen as elder and duly installed. Mr. J. H. Doyle was elected a deacon but his ordination and installation were postponed to a future date that he might have opportunity to acquaint himself with the requirements and duties of the office and the Confession of Faith.

should be Driftwood.

Judge James Warwick gave the church a choice of two locations for a church building. One location was on the hill where Mr. I. B. Bumgardner's house now stands, the other was up the road on Elk Lick Run where the present church stands. The church building was started about a year after the organization. Several years elapsed before the building was completed. The church records do not show in what year the building was dedicated but it was thought to be about August, 1901.

Rev. E. F. Alexander who was stated supply at the time of the organization died May 6, 1895 before the church was built. He is buried at Greenbank in the church yard at Liberty Church.

The dedicatory sermon was preached by the Rev. J. M. Sloan. Rev. Henry W. McLaughlin was then a seminary student supplying the church during the summer months.

On July 14, 1901 at a meeting of the session a motion was made to call a congregational meeting for the fourth Sunday of August to ascertain the sentiment of the congregation as to changing the name of Driftwood Church to Alexander Memorial Church in memory of Rev. E. F. Alexander who was so active in promoting the organization and building of the church. The records do not show that the name was changed although in one instance it was spoken of as Alexander Memorial Chapel, after which it was called Driftwood.

In May 1931, the pastor Rev. J. T. Pharr called another congregational meeting and it was decided by a large vote to change the name to Alexander Memorial Church.

In May 1905 a congregational meeting was held for the purpose of electing a ruling elder and deacon, the elder Mr. A. K. Dysard having moved from the vicinity. Mr. John H. Doyle was elected elder and Mr. K. W. Meeks was elected deacon. Both officers were duly ordained and installed.

When Alexander Memorial Church was organized, it was grouped with the Presbyterian Churches at Dunmore and Greenbank. Several years later it was changed and grouped with Linwood and Mingo and in 1930 it was again changed and grouped with Cass.

For a number of years until 1930 mission points of the church were Clover Lick, Poage Lane and Thomas Spring school house on Clover Creek.

In August, 1929 Rev. O. N. Miles assisted by Rev. Fred W. Gray held a series of revival meetings. As a result of these services eighteen new members were added to the church. Three of these were adults and the rest were young people.

In April 1930, Rev. O. N. Miles who had been pastor for about twelve years moved to Marlinton to take over some new work. Alexander Memorial Church which had been grouped with the Linwood-Mingo field was now grouped with Cass, and the pastor from that church, Rev. James T. Pharr took over this work. Rev. Pharr has held a revival each year with the exception of one. The ministers assisting him have been:



Rev. J. D. Wilson of Scarbro, W. Va.  
 Rev. G. O. Yount of Huttonsville, W. Va.  
 Rev. A. N. Brown of Ronceverte, W. Va.  
 Rev. Marlin Curry of Lewisburg, W. Va.

Officers of the church:

Ministers and students:

Rev. E. F. Alexander	1894 - 1895
Rev. H. W. McLaughlin, D.D. Student	1896 - 1904
" " " "	pastor 1900 - 1904
Rev. R. E. Fultz -	1904 - 1906
Rev. W. W. Bain -	1907 - 1909
Rev. S. B. Hannah ( student )	date unknown
Rev. H. H. Leach	" " "
Rev. W. P. Gibbs	" until about 1916
Rev. W. P. Gibbs - pastor	
W. J. Flint ( student )	1917
Rev. O. N. Miles - pastor -	1918 - 1930
Rev. J. T. Pharr	1930 - to present

Ministers from the Marlinton Presbyterian Church who preached at Alexander Memorial when that church was without a pastor were:

Rev. Wm. T. Price  
 Rev. G. W. Nickell  
 Rev. J. M. Walker

Elders:

Mr. A. K. Dysard 1894 - 1905

-C-

Mr. John Doyle	1905 - 1938
Mr. John H. Hevener	1905 - present

Deacons:

Mr. John Doyle	1894 - 1905
Mr. K. W. Meeks	1905 - present
Mr. Fred McLaughlin	Present
Mr. Paul Hevener	"
Mr. Otho Shields	"

Trustees:

Mr. John R. Hevener  
Mr. John Doyle  
Mr. Guy Tallman

History of the church for the year 1936-1937

Pastor - Rev. James Timothy Pharr

The first important event in the history of this church during the year 1936 was the spring meeting of Presbytery which was held in the Huttonsville Church in April. Alexander Memorial was represented by Mr. John H. Doyle. At this meeting Presbytery was invited to meet at Stony Bottom for the fall meeting on Sept. 29. The members of the congregation soon began to plan as to what repairs should be made on the church building and lawn. The pastor presented the church with a check for fifty dollars to be used as the session desired for repairing and painting. It was decided that a part of the money should be used to buy paint and that the men of the congregation would apply it to the exterior. Lumber was purchased and the building underpinned. On several different

days the men hauled rocks and dirt and leveled off the lawn.

The Woman's Auxiliary had some money in the treasury to be used for the church. The amount was small so the ladies decided a new pulpit chair was needed most of all. After looking at catalogs of church furniture, it was discovered that there was not enough money to buy a chair. One of the members donated some nice oak and a carpenter in the community made a chair and communion table. Other minor repairs were made.

The last day of July the pastor commenced a ten day revival meeting. Several children were baptised and three joined the church.

During the month of May, the community had the pleasure of having with them Miss Margaret Pritchard, a medical missionary to Korea who gave a very interesting lecture about her work. On another occasion Rev. Ed Currie a missionary to China told of his work.

On the second Sunday in September, the Rev. Henry W. McLaughlin, D.D. preached at this church. On Sept. 29, Presbytery convened at 1:30 P.M. This was the first time such a meeting had ever been held at Stony Bottom. There was a good attendance of delegates and several guests. Rev. J. M. Bylenstricker, a missionary home on furlough from Brazil, was elected Moderator. Other guest speakers were: Dr. Blakely pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Staunton, Virginia and Rev. Currie from China. At this meeting Mr. J. H. Doyle was nominated as a delegate to General Assembly which meets at Montreat, North Carolina.



## History of the church 1937 - 1938

One of the ruling elders, Mr. J. H. Doyle, had the privilege of being one of the representatives of Greenbrier Presbytery, to the General Assembly which met at Montreat, North Carolina in May. On June 13, while the congregation was assembled for divine worship, Mr. Doyle gave a report of his attendance to the assembly.

On June 20, Mr. H. C. Erwin, an elder of the Salem Church, <sup>West</sup> Organ Cave, Virginia, who is chairman of the Presbytery's Committee on the Ministers' Annuity Fund, addressed the congregation upon this subject. The Session discussed the church's quota of one hundred eighty-nine dollars and decided that it would be impossible to raise that large amount, so the quota was lowered to one hundred forty dollars. The Session appointed a committee to canvass the members and see how much money could be obtained. Members of the committee were: Mr. Doyle, Mr. Paul Nevener, Miss Mary Nevener. The results of the canvass was one hundred twenty-six dollars, obtained in pledges and cash. Seventy dollars and fifty cents being paid in cash.

At this session meeting the time for the revival meeting was discussed, and it was decided to begin this meeting on July 28, with Rev. O. C. Brown of Henick, West Virginia assisting the pastor, Rev. James T. Pharr. This meeting resulted in seventeen persons making a profession of faith.

On Oct. 28, 1938 the church and community sustained a real loss in the death of Mr. John Doyle, who was the last charter member of the church.

During January, 1939 Dr. T. Th. Stixrud, a medical missionary to Africa spoke in the church to the school children, and to the adults of the community. He told of some of his many interesting experiences in Africa as a physician. The foreign mission offering during January was ten dollars and five cents.

In 1938 there were eighty-one quarts of fruit canned and sent to the Davis Stuart School. Nearly every family took part in helping with this. The home mission offering was sixteen dollars.

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Women's Auxiliary.

In February 1931, Mrs. J. T. Pharr and Mrs. D. M. Monroe, Presbyterian president, met with the ladies of the church for the purpose of organizing a women's Auxiliary. Miss Cornelia Pritchard was elected president, Mrs. I. B. Bumgardner; Vice-pres. Miss Mary Hevener, Secretary, and Mrs. D. L. Beverage, Treas. This was the first group of women ever to be organized at Stony Bottom for church work of any kind although in previous years the women had been active in their interest for the welfare of the church. They helped raise money to paint the church both inside and out. They collected money to buy a new Bible and new hymn books.

In 1934 the ladies of the church saved their Sunday eggs and bought hymn books for the church.

At this time there were twenty members in the Auxiliary, but only eight could be called active members of the Auxiliary. They were very generous in all of their benevolent gifts.

More interest was taken by the ladies during the year 1937-38. They filled one hundred quart jars with fruit, honey and vegetables for the Davis Stuart School. Ten dollars was given to the Ministers' Annuity Fund. The women saved their eggs on the Sunday preceeding Easter and gave the money for church repairs.

In Feb. 1939 the Auxiliary met at the home of Mrs. Shields for the purpose of electing officers. The following were elected:

President - Virginia Hevener

Sec. & Treas. - Mrs. Fred McLaughlin

McMillions



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There is no record to show when the Sunday School was organized but there has been a Sunday School at Stony Bottom since before 1879. The first Sunday School was held in an old log school house which stood near where the road crosses Elk Lick Run right near the town of Stony Bottom. Mr. B. R. Doyle was the first Superintendent that anyone now living can remember. Mr. B. H. Barnett was Superintendent for about twenty years. Other Superintendents have been: W. R. Moore, J. R. Hevener, J. H. Doyle and Fred McLaughlin, the present superintendent. Teachers were: Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Dysard, W. R. Moore, and J. H. Doyle.

The teachers for 1935-36 were as follows:

John R. Hevener	- Bible Class
Miss Mary Hevener	- Senior girls
Paul Hevener	- Senior boys
Miss Cornelia Pritchard	- Intermediate
Miss Virginia Hevener	- Juniors
Mrs. Fred McLaughlin	- Primary

Owing to distance and bad roads the Sunday School was not continued through the winter months until about the year of 1915 when it became an "evergreen" Sunday School and has continued so until the present time.

In January, 1938 the members of the Sunday School voted to have Sunday School at two o'clock P. M. during the winter months, as this hour was more convenient for those who lived at a distance.

Information:

Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian Churches,  
Montreat, North Carolina

History of the Alexander Memorial Church -  
by Miss Virginia Hevener

The Church on the Western Waters - Courtney

Scotts

5.00

McMillions

2.00

4.50

James Cooper's name appears in the organization of the county as one of the constables appointed. He served the public as magistrate, assessor, and teacher of schools. He was regarded with high esteem for his honest and elevated character in social and business relations. He was a prominent member of the Liberty Church in the early history of that historic congregation, and his influence was ever for good morals, intelligence, and refinement of manners, himself being a fine specimen of what is termed "a gentleman of the old school," and was noted for his polite and gracious manners, correct and entertaining conversational powers.

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### ALEXANDER WADDELL.

One of the pioneers of our county from whom quite a number of our people trace their descent was Alexander Waddell. He was of Scotch-Irish descent and was among the earliest settlers in the neighborhood of Marvin Chapel. His wife was a Miss Rouss. He came from Augusta County before the Revolution, but in what year is not certainly known. He came out to examine the country, and looked over the Levels and the lands beyond Buckeye and around Sewall's Cave, and selected the place so long known as the Waddell Place, where the public road reaches the highest point on the mountain in passing from Buckeye to Millpoint. When he first explored the Levels all was mainly vacant or unclaimed, and he might have entered the greater part of it. He concluded it was too level and



glady, and so he preferred the lands north of Millpoint where he could be high enough to keep in the dry.

Their daughter, Martha, married the late John Barlow, of Edray, mentioned elsewhere.

Elizabeth Waddell married William Sharp, near Edray.

Ann Waddell married Squire James Sharp of Beaver Creek. Each of these sons-in-law of the early pioneer are specially mentioned in this book as men of prominence in the affairs of the county.

Mary Waddell married Squire John Gillilan, near Millpoint. This large family moved to Missouri, where their numerous descendants have their prosperous homes.

Jennie Waddell married Josiah Brown, near Edray.

Miriam Waddell was married to John Thompson and moved to Ohio.

The Waddell sons were John, William, and Alexander. To give his sons a chance to have their homes near him, the venerable pioneer concluded to move to Ohio and settled near Gallipolis. These sons all died in Ohio, and their history is not much known to their friends in West Virginia.

Mr Waddell seems to have been a fervently pious person. It was his intense desire to live one hundred years, and he made this desire for longevity a matter of special prayer. He died in Ohio at the age of one hundred and two years, thus receiving a full measure and more of borrowed time. With long life God satisfied him, and showed him his salvation.

The history of his life shows he had paid good atten-

tion to Bible reading where it is written in the thirty-fourth Psalm: "What man is he that desireth life and loveth many days that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil and thy lips from speaking guile; depart from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it."

This Psalm was a great favorite with our pious pioneer people, to give them consolation in their times of danger and distress.

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### RICHARD HUDSON.

The Hudson family trace their ancestry to Richard Hudson, whose wife was Elizabeth Redden. They came from Augusta County early in the century, and settled in the woods on the head waters of Sitlington's Creek, on lands now held by their grandsons, Warwick B. and John L. Hudson. This land was purchased from a Mr Armstrong. A small opening had been made by one Posten previously. Mr and Mrs Hudson were the parents of seven daughters and three sons.

Sally and Polly Hudson went to Ohio and married and settled in that State.

Keziah Hudson, of whom the writer has no definite information, more than that she was named after one of Job's daughters.

Rachel Hudson married Dysard and lived in Barbour County.

Matilda married Thomas Humphries and lived in Barbour County.

Naomi became Mrs Samuel Mathews, and lived in Randolph County. M. G. Mathews, deceased, a

Memories of Alice Mason were written by her.